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Centennial of the Province of Upper Canada

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ENTENNIAL

PROCEEDINGS

AT

NIAGARA and TORONTO.

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CENTENNIAL OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

Medal struck to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Province of Upper Canada.

3974

CENTENNIAL OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA

1792 - 1892

PROCEEDINGS AT THE GATHERING HELD AT NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, JULY 16, 1892.

AND ALSO THE

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING HELD IN FRONT OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 17, 1892.

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PROCEEDINGS AT NIAGARA

July 16, 1892,

The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Province of Upper Canada.

THE Act called the Canadian Constitutional Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1791, created out of the territory heretofore administered under the Quebec Act, the two new Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and endowed them with representative institutions. The new constitution marked a stage in the history of the English Colonial Empire. Although before 1791 the people of Nova Scotia had established for themselves the right to hold a representative assembly, yet that right was still, like the privileges of the former New England Colonies, a precarious incident growing out of a Royal Charter. The Canadian Constitution under the Act of 1791 was the first free representative Colonial Constitution irrevocably guaranteed by Act of the Imperial Parliament.

Thus it was by it for the first time that the Commons of England conclusively recognized the citizenship and co-equal rights of their fellow subjects in the colonies. It secured the broad foundation upon which the great modern union of British

nations now stands; each member, although loyal to the same crown, being, in respect of its internal affairs, virtually independent of any Legislature except its own. Looking at the long continuance, the steady constitutional development and the great promise of the Empire that has grown up on those foundations, the summoning a century ago of the first Parliament elected under the constitution of 1791 seems to have a significance not only in the history of the Province but in that of the Dominion, and it may in the future be seen to have a place in the political history of the modern world.

In view of these facts, on the petition of the President and and members of the Incorporated Pioneer and Historical Society of the County of York, presented to the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario in the session of 1892, the sum of $2,000 was voted to the above named society and associate historical societies of the Province to enable them to take steps towards a celebration in the year 1892 of the Centenary of the Parliamentary Institutions of this Province. The Rev. Dr. Scadding was elected Chairman of the joint committee, and Mr. J. L. Hughes, Secretary.

It was arranged that the 16th July, being the date on which the proclamation was issued declaring the electoral divisions of the Province of Upper Canada, should be made the occasion of a summer meeting at the town of Niagara, the first capital, and that the centenary of the date of the actual meeting of the first Parliament at the town of Niagara on the 17th September, 1792, should be celebrated by a similar meeting at the new Provincial Parliament buildings in the city of Toronto.

In addition to the local observance of the two dates mentioned, a medal was struck commemorative of the occasion. A representation of this medal forms the frontispiece.

Pursuant to these arrangements, a largely attended meeting took place at Niagara on the 16th July, 1892, and was presided over by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, George Airey Kirkpatrick. The committee and other guests were received by the Mayor of the town of Niagara, Mr. Pafford and by Canon Bull, and the members of the local committee.

Detachments of the 19th Battalion, the 44th Battalion, the 2nd Regiment of Cavalry and the Welland Field Battery attended by invitation, representing the local militia of one hundred years ago.

The Proclamation summoning the first Parliament was read by the Lieutenant-Governor on the Commons near Old Fort George, and was received by a royal salute of twenty-one guns by the Welland Field Battery.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor preceded the reading with a brief historical sketch as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen.—We are assembled here to-day to recall the incidents of a hundred years ago, and to celebrate in as fitting a manner as we can the hundredth anniversary of the granting of constitutional and popular government to the Province of Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario.

During the French regime in Canada the white population was scattered over a wide area, and located in places suitable for the prosecution of trade rather than for the practice of agriculture. West of Montreal the chief settlements were at Cataraqui (now Kingston), Niagara, Detroit, Michillimackinac, and on the Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi rivers. The nucleus of each settlement was a fort, which served to protect the French traders and their families, alike against Indian savages and English rivals.

The whole region above referred to was known under the name of "Canada," while the French territory to the south of the Ohio River and to the west of the Mississippi River was called "Louisiana."

During the period from 1757 to 1763 the "Seven Years' War" raged in different parts of the world—Europe, India, the West Indies, and the greater portion of what is now the United States and Canada east of the Mississippi—involving Great Britain and France in a final struggle for supremacy in North America.

In 1759, the last year of George II.'s reign, Quebec surrendered to Admiral Saunders and General Townshend, and in the same year Fort Niagara was taken by Sir William Johnston. In 1760, the first year of George III., Montreal surrendered to General Amherst, and it was expressly stipulated in the articles of capitulation that the settlements of Detroit and Michillimackinac should be included in the surrender.

In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, the whole of Canada was formally ceded by France to Great Britain. The territory covered by this cession was never accurately defined, but it included undoubtedly the whole of the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, beside the great Valley of the St. Lawrence. Later in the same year, 1763, George III., by royal proclamation, created the "Government of Quebec," with an area and boundaries almost coincident with those of the Province of Quebec to-day. In 1764 General Murray was by royal commission appointed the first civil governor of the new "Colony." In 1774 the Quebec Act, passed by the British Parliament, enlarged the Province of Quebec by including in it all the territory ceded under the Treaty of Paris, 1763. Beside the now existing Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, it comprised

the States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

By the Treaty of Paris, 1783, all these States were separated from Quebec, which was confined to the north bank of the St. Lawrence westward of the intersection of the 45th parallel of latitude, and were included in the United States of America, the independence of which was by the same treaty fully acknowledged.

The Quebec Act of 1774 created a legislative council, made up of members appointed by the crown, "to ordain regulations for the future welfare and government of the Province." By 1791 the influx of English-speaking settlers from the neighbouring self-governing States had made apparent the unsuitability of this legislative machinery, and in that year the Constitutional Act was passed by the British Parliament, creating a Legislative Assembly and Council for each of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, into which Quebec was about to be divided by order of the King-in-Council.

On the 24th of August, 1791, two such orders were passed. The former fixed the line of division between Upper and Lower Canada as it is to-day between Ontario and Quebec, and as it has been throughout the whole of the century; the latter ordered the issue of a warrant authorizing the Government of Quebec to fix a day for the Act to go into operation.

Lieutenant-Governor Alured Clarke, in the absence of the Governor, Lord Dorchester, proclaimed the 26th of December, 1791, as the day when the division of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada should take effect. Mr. Clarke was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, and on the 7th of May, 1792, he issued, at Quebec, the proclamation dividing that Province into electoral districts for its first Parliament.

Colonel John Graves Simcoe was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. At Kingston, on the 16th of July, 1792, he issued the proclamation dividing the new Province into electoral districts for the election of the first Parliament of Upper Canada.

That first Parliament met at Niagara (then Newark) on the 17th of September, but it has been deemed expedient to commemorate at this place the issue of the proclamation rather than the assembling of the Parliament, because the former may fairly be regarded as, from a constitutional point of view, the more fundamental event of the two. I now read this

PROCLAMATION.

J. Graves Simcoe:

"George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., to all our loving subjects, whom these presents concern:

"Whereas, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, lately made and provided, passed in the thirty-first year of our reign, and of authority by us given for that purpose, our late Province of Quebec is become divided into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and our Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province of Upper Canada, by power from us derived, is authorized, in the absence of our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Guy, Lord Dorchester, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of our said Province of Upper Canada, to divide the said Province of Upper Canada into districts, counties, circuits, or towns and townships for the purpose of effectuating the intent of the said Act of Parliament, and to declare and appoint a number of representatives to be chosen by each, to serve in the

Assembly of the said Province: Know ye, therefore, that our trusty and well-beloved John Graves Simcoe, Esquire, our Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province of Upper Canada, in the absence of the said Governor-in Chief, hath and by this our proclamation doth divide the said Province of Upper Canada into counties, and hath and doth appoint and declare the number of representatives of them and each of them to be as hereinafter limited, named, declared and appointed."

Nineteen counties were named, as follows:

1. Glengarry.
2. Stormont.
3. Dundas.
4. Grenville.
5. Leeds.
6. Frontenac.
7. Ontario.
8. Addington.
9. Lennox.
10. Prince Edward.
11. Hastings
12. Northumberland.
13. Durham.
14. York.
15. Lincoln.
16. Norfolk.
17. Suffolk.
18. Essex.
19. Kent.

The number of representatives to be elected to the Legislative Assembly was fixed by the proclamation at sixteen, distributed among the counties as follows:

Glengarry	2
Stormont	1
Dundas	1
Grenville	1
Leeds and Frontenac	1
Ontario and Addington	1
Prince Edward	1
Lennox, Hastings and Northumberland	1
Durham, York and Lincoln (First Riding)	1
Lincoln (Second Riding)	1
Lincoln (Third Riding)	1
Lincoln (Fourth Riding) and Norfolk	1
Suffolk and Essex	1
Kent	2
Total	16

The Patent was executed under the Great Seal of the said Province of Upper Canada, signed by "our trusty and well-beloved John Graves Simcoe, Esquire, our Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province of Upper Canada, and Colonel commanding our forces in Upper Canada, etc., at our Government House in the town of Kingston, this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, and in the thirty-second year of our reign," Wm. Jarvis, Secretary.

The reading of the Royal Proclamation on July 16th, 1892, was followed by a royal salute of twenty-one guns, fired by the Welland Field Battery, after which His Honour resumed:

It is good for us to talk of the days of our ancestors and recall the trials and hardships which the people endured in the earlier days of the settlement of this country. We have among us to-day some of the direct descendants of those who took part in the establishment of constitutional government one hundred years ago. We have here to-day a grandson of one of Governor Simcoe's ministers. That brings us very close to him. While we are commemorating the issue of the proclamation by Governor Simcoe, it is well that we should look at the man who was distinguished for many acts of intrepid bravery, for his calm and correct judgment and for his true and honourable conduct in all actions. He was sent here on account of the energy, judgment and discretion which he had shown in the service of his King in other parts of the world. He was sent here to govern a people, few in numbers, but a people who had suffered losses and privations, and endured untold hardships for the sake of the old flag; men who for their loyalty and fidelity to their King, had lost property and suffered hardships in the American States that had succeeded in achieving their independ-

ence. In 1783 peace was declared between the mother country and the American States, and the order came for New York to be evacuated by the British troops. The Governor of New York found that he had in his charge a large number of loyalists who had come from different States to seek the protection of the old flag which they had served, and for serving which they had suffered, lost their property and been imprisoned. The Governor had several thousands of these people, and he knew not what to do with them. He heard that there was a man named Captain Michael Grass in the garrison, who had been a prisoner at Fort Frontenac during the time that the French held that stronghold. He sent for Captain Grass and asked him, "Will you undertake to pilot these loyalists to that country?" Captain Grass undertook the task. Ships were engaged and provisioned, and they set out upon the voyage along the rugged Atlantic coast and up the majestic St. Lawrence as far as Sorel, which was reached in the winter of 1783. There they encamped, and came up the River St. Lawrence in batteaux in June, 1784, as far as Johnston and waited till the country was surveyed, preparatory to the apportionment of the land.

When the Government was informed of the success of Captain Grass's transportation of these loyalists to British soil, he was told that he should have first choice of a lot, and he chose a lot on which part of Kingston now stands. He afterward exchanged that lot and took one farther out in the country, and his grandson lives on that farm to-day. Other refugees crossed the Niagara and settled along the north shore of Lake Erie. These were the people, a few thousand loyalists, when Governor Simcoe was called upon to assume the Governorship of Upper Canada. There were at that time also about 10,000 Indians here, many of whom, like the loyalists, had fought for the cause of Great

Britain, and were loyal to British connection. Governor Simcoe found this country at that time covered by a dense and almost impenetrable forest, and he made his journeys from Kingston by water. When he went to Detroit he had to go through an almost trackless wilderness. When he went a few years afterward to lay out a site for a town where Toronto now stands, there was not a house between Niagara and Toronto, and he had to pitch his tent there.

Let us all endeavour to learn something of the early history of our country and see what our forefathers have done for their posterity. When we think of the progress of Ontario we ought to feel proud. What a change has come over this country. How differently we travel, coming here on those magnificent steamboats or the railways. How different means of transit had Simcoe and the members of Parliament whom he invited to give him the benefit of their advice at Niagara in 1792. How science and literature have progressed. Arts, agriculture, commerce and manufactures have all advanced, and have made this country one of the most prosperous and contented on the face of the globe. When we look at all the comfortable and contented homes that are spread over this immense Province of Ontario, with her rich fields of waving grain ready to be gathered into the storehouses, with her herds of cattle grazing on the pasture lands, and, withal, her great wealth, we ought to be filled with gratitude.

We are not only a prosperous and a contented people, but a God-fearing people. Any person who travels over this country sees upon every hill-top churches with their spires pointing heavenward, telling the people of God's love for man. There are many subjects to which I might refer for reasons showing why this country is happy and prosperous. Let us think of the

heroic deeds of our ancestors, of the privations and troubles which they had in settling this country in earlier days; and let us be thankful that Canada to-day remains true to that flag which such men upheld. Let us every one, man and woman and child, determine that as far as in us lies we shall endeavour to keep this country true to the old flag. I feel thankful that I should be permitted to-day, as Governor of this important, populus and rich Province of Ontario, to speak as one of the successors of Governor Simcoe; and I hope that my course during my term of office will be such that we shall still further perpetuate these names here, and that we may hand down this valuable heritage to our children and our children's children with their fame unsullied.

The next proceeding was the reading of prayers by Rev. Canon Bull, of Niagara-on-the-Lake, who officiated as Chaplain. He read from Captain John Brant's Prayer Book, printed in 1774 and containing translations of the Epistles into the Chippewa tongue made by the Captain himself. As a part of the Prayer of General Thanksgiving these words were read :

"*Especially for the mercy and goodness vouchsafed to the people of this Province during the past one hundred years: for nurture, protection, government; for education, civil rights and privileges, and for temporal prosperity.*"

At the conclusion of these interesting ceremonies the members of the association and their guests partook of luncheon at the Queen's Royal Hotel. There was a large gathering in the beautiful town park in the afternoon, when appropriate speeches were made by several distinguished Canadians.

Shortly after four o'clock the Lieutenant-Governor took the

chair and called on the Honourable Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, as the speaker of the day. He spoke as follows:

May it please Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I am glad to take part in a patriotic celebration in the old town of Niagara, so rich in historical and patriotic associations. That proclamation issued by Governor Simcoe at Kingston a hundred years ago this day was the first step in the political history of the Province, and was doubtless an event of intense interest, as it was of great importance, to the white population of the Province at that time.

That population was small—10,000 souls only, as some estimate. These early settlers of Ontario were distinguished for industry, courage, and a sense of religion and its duties. Take them all in all, they were a noble ancestry, of whom a country may well feel proud. Whether their loyalty was a mistake and a misfortune as some elsewhere aver, or whether, on the other hand, it is to be rejoiced over, as the people of Canada generally have always felt, there can be no denial that it was at all events a profound sentiment on their part. According to their view, in allowing this sentiment to guide their conduct they were acting on principle and performing duty. They were as fond of the good things of this life as their neighbours were. They were as much attached to their houses and lands, their goods and their chattels, as others were, and as desirous of success in life for themselves and their children. But when the provinces in which they lived ceased to be British provinces and became parts of a new nation hostile to the old, they forsook all the material advantages and prospects which they had in their old homes, and followed the flag of Britain into the wilds of Canada, preferring the privations and hardships and poverty which might be their lot there, rather

than to live under the flag of the revolution. The material sacrifices which they made at the call of what they believed to be duty and right, as well as just sentiment, constitute a glorious record, and that record has influenced the sentiment and conduct of the Canadian people ever since. Those early settlers had been born British subjects, they loved the British name; British subjects it was their determination under all temptations to remain, and on British soil to live out their lives, whatever the determination should cost them.

In 1812 there came to Canadians and Canadian sentiment a new trial. Great Britain was engaged in a great European war, and a majority of the people of the United States of that day deemed the occasion fitting and opportune for adding Canada to the Union, by force if necessary, or by persuasion if the inhabitants would be persuaded. They offered to Canadians freedom from British domination; but Canadians had no grievance against the fatherland. Such of the United Empire Loyalists who still lived had not changed their minds since they came to Canada. Their sons and the newcomers into the country shared the old preference for British connection, and all sprang to arms to defend the land of their choice at the peril, and in many cases, the loss of their lives. That feature in human nature which prompts men thus to fight for their country, even to the death, is one of the noblest in our psychology. It is a necessary incident of a national spirit. As a Canadian, I feel proud of the display of that spirit which Canadians have made at every stage of their history. I am glad to know that it exists still. I am pleased with the illustrations of it which we have had in our volunteers, God bless them! as well as on the part of our people generally when they have had opportunity.

I am glad to know that Canadians of the present day as a

body are not disposed to say of the sturdy, self-sacrificing men who were the first settlers of our Province, that they were blunderers and wrongdoers in the sacrifices which they made o property and prospects and material interests generally, and, in so many instances, of life also. I am glad to know that Canadians of this day have as a body no inclination to undo the work of those noble founders of our Province. As Canadians we, too, are glad that by reason largely of their fidelity we are British subjects here in Canada, and we live here still on British soil. We are British subjects, and we have at the same time a special love for Canada. We feel a special interest in Canada's welfare. Since the time of the pioneers the constitution of the country has been greatly developed in favour of the residents.

A century ago it was thought best that the several colonies of British North America which remained loyal to the empire should have separate Governments: and at first separate legislatures were established, while the Imperial authorities, with the approval of the colonists, retained in their own hands the executive power and a veto on colonial legislation. But, as the population advanced and as the colonists acquired experience in the limited amount of self-government which the Imperial Act of 1791 secured to them, larger powers and popular control over the executive became necessary or desirable, and were from time to time obtained, until the Confederation Act of 1867, which was passed at the request of the principal North American Provinces, formed them into one great Dominion, under a constitution framed in all respects by their own representatives, the representatives of all political parties.

For half a century now the policy of the fatherland has been not to interfere with our affairs, except to the extent that we our-

selves ask; and we have all the self-government that through our representatives we have ever asked, or that the Canadians as a people have hitherto desired. The fatherland has also given to us without money and without price all the Crown lands in British North America outside of the Provinces, as well as the Crown lands in the Provinces, amounting to millions of square miles—the Crown lands outside of the old Provinces having been given to the Dominion as a whole, and the other Crown lands to the several Provinces in which the lands lie. Thus Canada has now an area of 3,610,000 square miles—about equal to the United States, including Alaska, and nearly as large as the whole continent of Europe, the seat of so many great nations. Our own Province alone is larger than the aggregate areas of the New England States and New York and Pennsylvania. Half a million square miles of Canadian territory is well timbered land or prairie land, and is suitable for the growth of wheat—a larger wheat-growing area than there is in the United States or in any other country in the world. Another million square miles of territory is fairly timbered and suitable for grasses and the harder grains. As a wheat-growing country, our own Province equals or excels every State of the neighbouring Union, and in Manitoba and the Canadian North-West the wheat grown is the finest in the world. Canada is also unequalled for raising cattle. Our fisheries, timber and mines are other sources of wealth from which considerable profit is derived now, and untold riches will result in the future. Canada is also unsurpassed in the adaptation of its climate and soil for raising and maintaining a vigorous and active population, and this is the most important consideration of all.

Such is Canada; and this great country, won in the last century by British blood and British treasure, has by Britain

been confided to its present population for development and use.

It is pleasant to know that until the last ten years of its history Canada advanced faster in proportion than the States of the American Union as a whole, or than most of the individual States did. As to the causes of there not having been like progress during the last decade, we Reformers ascribe the falling off to the N. P., or so-called National Policy, and the high taxation. Conservatives argue for other causes; and this is not an occasion for discussing the question between us.

It was in this great and growing country—this Canada, so extensive in territory, so rich in resources and so abounding in advantages for the future development—that most of its present inhabitants were born; and it is the land of adoption to the rest of its population. In view of the relations to it of us all, and in view of the history of the country and of what is now known of its immense possibilities, there have grown up among its people, alongside of the old attachment to the British name and British nation and of the pride felt in British achievements in peace and war, a profound love for Canada also, a pride in Canada and hopes of Canada as one day to become a great British nation: British, whether in a political sense in connection or not with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; British because Britain is the nation of the birth or origin of most of us, and has the profoundest respect and admiration of all; British because Canadians retain more of British institutions and British peculiarities than are possessed in other lands; British because of most of its people being more attached to Britain and more anxious for its well-being than they are with respect to any other of the nations of the world. As a native Canadian, I am glad to know that this sentiment is not confined to natives

of the old land who reside here, but is the sentiment of their descendants also. It is not birth which alone is the groundwork of national sentiment. Following the example of our fathers, we who are Canadians by birth lovingly call the old lands "home" as they did; and those old lands are as dear to most of us as they were to our fathers who were born there. But we are Canadians none the less on that account, and we love Canada none the less. In my early days I used to mourn over the little Canadian sentiment which there then was among Canadians, whether by birth or adoption; but a gradual change has been going on in this respect, and Canadianism is now the predominant sentiment among by far the largest proportion of the Canadian people.

The future of this Canada of ours is matter of great interest. What shall it be? We have no grievance against the mother country making us desire separation from it on that account. What led to the American revolution was a practical grievance inflicted by the then ruling classes. It was chiefly the taxation of the colonies for Imperial purposes by the Imperial Parliament which made the colonies rebel. They rebelled reluctantly, and but for that practical grievance and all it implied there would at the time have been no rebellion. But, however content loyal Canadians may be with our present political position in the empire, people of all parties, both at home and here, are satisfied that our political relations cannot remain permanently just what they are. As the Dominion grows in population and wealth, changes are inevitable and must be faced. What are they to be? Some of you hope for some sort of Imperial Federation. Failing that, what then? Shall we give away our great country to the United States, as some, I hope not many, are saying just now? Or, when the time

comes for some important change, shall we, as the only other alternative, go for the creation of Canada into an independent nation? I believe that the great mass of our people would prefer independence to political union with any other people. And so would I.

As a Canadian, I am not willing that Canada should cease to be. Fellow-Canadians, are you? I am not willing that Canada should commit national suicide. Are you? I am not willing that Canada should be absorbed into the United States. Are you? I am not willing that both our British connection and our hope of Canadian nationality shall be destroyed for ever. Annexation necessarily means all that. It means, too, the abolition of all that is to us preferable in Canadian character and institutions as contrasted with what, in these respects, our neighbours prefer. Annexation means at the same time the transfer from ourselves to Washington of all matters outside of local Provincial affairs. Ontario's will is powerful at Ottawa. No Government has been in power there which had not the support of a majority of Ontario's representatives; and no Dominion Government would stand for a month without that support. If things do not go there as we Reformers should like, it is because Ontario, through its own representatives, has not so willed. But at Washington the influence of our 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 of people would be nothing, though Ontario's representatives would be unanimous. If we want free trade now we have only to elect representatives favouring it, and free trade we may have. If we want not free trade, but a revenue tariff, we have only to send to Ottawa representatives favouring a revenue tariff, and a revenue tariff we shall have. But in case of annexation to the United States, Canadians might be unanimous for either policy, or for any other policy, and their

unaniminity would amount to nothing unless a majority of the 65,000,000 of other people should also favour it. By annexation we should thus practically be giving up to our neighbours for ever the absolute, uncontrolled and uncontrollable right of dealing throughout all time with all our federal affairs as our neighbours might deem for their own interest, whether their interest were ours or not : our interest or our opinion as opposed to theirs would not be of the slightest moment. Even a question of peace or war with the fatherland would be decided by others. The war might be most unjust, as other wars have often been ; our children and our money might be taken from us in the prosecution against the nation of our affections of an unjust war, the outcome, perhaps, of hatred or jealousy.

Then, again, if the question of mere material advantage were the only question for us to consider, it is at least doubtful whether the masses of our people would, all things considered, derive any material advantage from the sacrifice of ourselves and our country to our neighbours. It is easy enough to show that but for the United States tariff there are important articles for which our producers would just now realize larger prices in the United States markets than they realize elsewhere. No one can be sure that this would always be so. Further, it is as certain as anything of the kind can be, and it would be blindness to ignore the fact, that, though the farmers in the United States have no McKinley Act to prevent their having free access to the markets of all their States, yet these farmers as a body do not appear to be in better circumstances than our own farmers are, if they are in as good. Their farms appear to be as extensively and oppressively mortgaged as ours are, if not more extensively and oppressively. In a word, farming in that country at this moment, with all the advantages of a free market

in all the States, does not appear to be paying better than farming here, if as well. Nor can I discover that their mechanics and labourers are, on the whole, more comfortable than our own.

So many of our people cannot get employment; but I see from the newspapers that hundreds of thousands in the United States are in the same position. Further, the last Dominion census shows that there are 80,480 persons of United States birth living among us. Many thousand persons of United States birth must thus have found in our population of 5,000,000 attractions for themselves and their families greater for business or other things than in the 63,000,000 of their own country. And these American residents are not the scum of the American people. Quite the contrary. They are more than equal to the average of their countrymen in their own land. They belong, as a rule, to the most industrious, active, intelligent, law-abiding and church-going class of our population. If a still larger percentage of Canadians have gone to the United States, for their life-work or otherwise, it is to be remembered that a country yet new, but with 63,000,000 of a population, must present more openings for Canadians than Canada with a population of but 5,000,000 can have for American citizens; not now to speak of those other causes for the recent Canadian exodus, as to which our two political parties differ. Don't let any of our people who happen to be feeling the pinch of adverse circumstances assume in a hurry that people in other lands are on the whole better off than their own people.

I am told that some of our ambitious young men are attracted by the idea of political union, as opening to them political positions outside of Canada: but they should remember that, on the other hand, political union would increase in perhaps a larger degree the competitors for political positions in Canada. The

political positions in the Dominion, which are open to British Canadians only—the Legislative Assemblies, the Dominion House of Commons and Senate, the offices of Dominion Ministers and of Provincial Ministers and of Provincial Lieutenant-Governors, not to speak of many others—ought surely to afford ample field for our young men, whatever their ability.

But it is in the masses of the people that I am most interested. Almost any national or other important movement may be a material benefit to a few, and yet be no material benefit to the many. The late war in the United States between the North and South did great good in abolishing slavery. The war cost several hundred thousands of lives and many hundreds of millions of dollars. It made millionaires of a few, and it added to the worldly means of a good many others, but it is at least doubtful whether the masses of the Northern people since the close of the war have enjoyed any increase of material advantage from the results of the war, however important those results may be in some other respects. So it is quite probable that a few Canadians would be benefitted by that annexation to the United States which they are desirous of bringing about; but whether the masses of the present Canadian population, as distinguished from the few, would have any adequate return for the sacrifice of their allegiance, of their nationality, of their national aspirations, and of the advantages which in various ways they now possess, is quite another question. I do not believe they would.

I speak to you against the annexation of our country to the United States, believing aversion to it to be the feeling of all or almost all whom I am addressing, as it is my own feeling; but I speak without one particle of animosity toward the United States. Some of my most esteemed friends are natives and

citizens of that country, and but for the animosity of their nation toward our fatherland I should hold the whole people in most affectionate brotherhood. Like the people of Ontario, they are English-speaking people. They come from the same mother nations that we do. There is much that is common to us in literature, in laws and in religious faith. They are, in an important sense, our brothers, and I should be glad to promote the freest intercourse with them in every way. But I don't want to belong to them. I don't want to give up my allegiance on their account, or for any advantages they may offer. As a Canadian, I don't want to give up any aspirations for Canadian nationality as the alternative of political connection with the fatherland. I cannot bring myself to forget the hatred which so many of our neighbours cherish toward the nation we love, and to which we are proud to belong. I cannot forget the influence which that hatred exerts in their public affairs. I don't want to belong to a nation in which both its political parties have, for party purposes, to vie with one another in exhibiting this hatred. I don't want to belong to a nation in which a suspicion that a politician has a friendly feeling toward the great nation of the origin of the most of them is enough to ensure his defeat at the polls.

Some good men seem to fear that Confederation is unworkable, because so many bad things, as we Reformers think them, have been done at Ottawa since 1878. But, looking at those facts from our own Reform standpoint, let us recollect that what we regard as the worst acts are parallelled, or more than parallelled, by what has taken place in Federal or State Governments and Legislatures to the south of us. We may not look merely at instances there in which, happily, corruption or wrong has been defeated or punished, but must look to the far more numerous

instances in which corruption or wrong has triumphed. There would be no advantage to Ontario in jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. My thinking badly of what has bean done at Ottawa does not prevent my appreciation of our constitution. nor my aspirations as a Canadian nationalist; and for several reasons from our own Reform standpoint. One reason is, that this Province of Ontario is itself to blame for the existence of the obnoxious Ottawa Government, if obnoxious it is. Our trouble as Reformers has been that, unfortunately as we think—fortunately as some who hear me think—we were not able in 1878, and have not been able since, to convince a majority of the constituencies (we hope to convince them) that they should return to the Dominion Parliament Reformers and not Conservatives.

Some of my brother Reformers in Ontario think Confederation unworkable for good because of Quebec. I would submit for their consideration that we have no right to assume that to be so until we find Quebec maintaining a party in power after the chief Province of the Dominion has ceased to support it by a majority of its representatives. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that a larger proportion of the people of Quebec are in favour of the "National Policy," or are against unrestricted reciprocity, than the people of Ontario, and these two matters at present are the principal points of legislative difference between Reformers and Conservatives. I am satisfied that there is no danger of Quebec's placing itself in antagonism with an Ontario majority of the members in the House of Commons. The result of the late general local election in Quebec is an instructive fact. Mr. Brown's success in getting the consent of Quebec in 1864 to representation by population in the House of Commons is another fact which ought to relieve the fears which many entertain as to what Quebec may or may not do.

Another thing should be noted by any, whether Reformers or Conservatives, who may be led to look on annexation as the only way of escape from what they think still greater ills. Annexation, if it ever comes, is not going to come soon, is not going to come in time to relieve any of our people from the present depression. Many drawbacks and difficulties would have to be overcome before annexation could become a fact, if it were ever to become a fact. We have failed so far to get a majority for even unrestricted reciprocity, and there would be immensely greater difficulty and delay in getting a majority for annexation. Very many are, like myself, prepared for the one measure who are with all their hearts against the other. There can be no annexation unless and until a decided majority of our people want it, and this will not be unless and until their present loyalty is driven out of both political parties; nor until the people of Quebec, the people of the Maritime Provinces, the people of the new Western Provinces and the people of Ontario are prepared for direct taxation for the support of their local Governments. Unrestricted reciprocity we might have at any time that a majority of our Dominion representatives should go for it on terms to which our neighbours would agree; but for so mighty a transaction as the absolute transfer of half the continent to another nation for all time, much more would be necessary than a bare and perhaps accidental majority of the members of the two Houses; much greater assurance than such an act as that would be demanded, and needed, that the mass of the people really and deliberately desired the transfer; and if that should be ascertained and made beyond question, there would have to be long negotiations for carrying so important a matter into effect. My point here is, that whatever may be said for annexation, if immediately attainable, the agitation for it is no remedy for any class of present sufferers.

If we are not for annexation, our clear policy as Canadians is for the present to cherish British connection whatever else any of us may be looking forward to in our political and national future. Canada is not yet prepared for independence. If, as a people we want it, if anything like the same proportion of our population wanted it as did of the American colonies at the time of the revolution, and if this were made to clearly appear in a constitutional way, the fatherland would, beyond doubt, give its consent. Naturally it would be given for our independence much more readily than for annexation to another power, even if that other were not a hostile power. Consent to either measure would be given reluctantly and regretfully on the part of probably most British electors, and would probably be given willingly on the part of some. But the Provinces of the Dominion are not sufficiently welded together to form Canada into an independent nation. There is something of a Canadian spirit in every one of the Provinces, and there is reason for the hope that the Canadian spirit will be constantly growing stronger in them all. Meanwhile, our great North-West is being occupied by immigrants to it from the older Provinces of the Dominion, and by those immigrants from Europe who, for whatever reasons, prefer Canada to the United States. But, outside of the constitution, the strongest ties which up to this moment bind the Provinces together are their common British connection, their common history as British colonists, the common status of their people as British subjects, and their common allegiance to our noble Queen, who has lived long enough and well enough to obtain the respect and admiration of all the civilized nations of the world. These elements of unity are valuable helps for one day consolidating the Provinces into a nation, but they are not sufficient for this purpose yet. If any

of us desire Canada to become in time an independent nation, if any of us are for Canada first, if we prefer our own people to any other people, if we prefer our own institutions to those of other people, if we prefer, as many of us do, the character and the sentiments and the ways of our own people to those of any other people, if we do not wish that as a political organization our dear Canada should be annihilated, if we do not wish to be ourselves parties to its receiving its death-blow as a nation, our proper course is plain, the course of us all, Conservatives and Reformers alike. It is to cherish our own institutions, to foster the affections of our people toward the fatherland, to strengthen their appreciation of the greatness and the glories of the empire, to stimulate their interest in its grand history in the cause of freedom and civilization, and to give now and always to the Dominion and the Provinces the best administration of public affairs that is practicable by our best statesmen and best public men, whoever they may be.

Some point to the McKinley Act as a reason why Canadians should transfer their country to the United States, and statesmen and politicians in that country are said to have been advised to adopt a policy of peaceable but vigorous coercion as a sure means of getting over Canadian objections to annexation. A policy of coercion by McKinley Acts and like means would be a policy of insult as well as of injury. Independently of all other considerations, self-respect would forbid our permitting such a policy to be successful. Coercion by such means is as little defensible on any moral grounds as coercion by war and conquest. I hope that the leaders and thinkers of our political parties in the Dominion will find means of neutralizing the evils of any attempted coercion. The evils, meanwhile, would not be great as compared with what was

readily borne for conscience sake by our Canadian forefathers and predecessors, and I know that their spirit is not wanting in their sons and successors at the present day.

No, I do not want annexation. I prefer the ills I suffer to the ills annexation would involve. I love my nation, the nation of our fathers, and I shall not willingly join any nation which hates her. I love Canada, and I want to perform my part, whatever it may be, in maintaining its existence as a distinct political or national organization. I believe this to be, on the whole and in the long run, the best thing for Canadians, and the be t thing for the whole American continent. I hope that when another century has been added to the age of Canada it may still be Canada, and that its second century shall, like its first, be celebrated by Canadians, unabsorbed, numerous, prosperous, powerful and at peace. For myself, I should prefer to die in that hope rather than to die President of the United States.

After brief but eloquent and enthusiastic addresses from Dr. Ferguson, late M.P. for the County of Welland, Lt.-Col. George. T. Denison, Dr. Oronhyatekha and Sheriff McKellar, the proceedings closed with the National Anthem.

PROCEEDINGS AT TORONTO

September 17, 1892,

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OPENING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

THE 17th September being the centenary of the date on which the first Parliament was opened, addresses were delivered in front of the new Parliament Buildings in the Queen's Park, Toronto. A pleasing feature was the music and singing of school children numbering several hundreds, representing different city schools. His Honour, the Lieut.-Governor, the Honourable George Airey Kirkpatrick, presided. He was accompanied by Mrs. Kirkpatrick and attended by Captain Kirkpatrick, A.D.C.

A guard of honour was furnished by "C" Company of the Canadian Regular Force, under the command of Major Buchan.

The Hon. Thomas Ballantyne, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, opened the proceedings with prayer, reading the form prescribed for use in the Ontario Legislature.

His Honour the Lieut.-Governor then spoke as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I have much pleasure in accepting the invitation of the committee to preside over this meeting, which is intended to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of

the opening of the first Parliament of Upper Canada. There is no place more appropriate to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the first Parliament of Upper Canada than Toronto, a city the site of which was selected by Governor Simcoe one hundred years ago. When he came here in 1792 he had to pitch his tent upon the shore, as there were then no houses nor buildings of any kind. He cut down the trees, laid out streets and prepared a site for the city, having confidence in the future; and now you will all agree with me that the appearance of this populous city fully justifies the selection made by Governor Simcoe. Nor could there be a more appropriate place in the City of Toronto to hold this demonstration than in front of this stately pile of buildings which marks, by its large and massive proportions, by its beauty and symmetry, the great progress which has taken place in the political situation of this Province during the last one hundred years. You can judge by the size of that building of the vast business which is done to-day as compared with what it was a hundred years ago, when a small log house at Niagara held the Legislature of this Province. And another advantage that this situation has for this demonstration is that we are within ear-shot of those magnificent educational establishments which mark the intellectual and the moral progress of this Province. We are all proud to know that our educational system has extended as it has, and that the people of this country of all classes, rich and poor alike, can receive as good an education in Ontario as they can in any part of the world. I am not going to tell you of all the changes that have taken place, and of all the wonderful progress of this Province and what we may hope for in the future. I am going to leave that to the speakers who will address you. There is one thing to-day that is the same as it was one hundred years

ago when Governor Simcoe opened up the first Parliament of Upper Canada. The guard of honor which received him was the same as the guard of honour receiving me to-day—British red-coats! No change has taken place in this respect, and I am sure we are all glad to know it. We are proud to have this great heritage that has been given to us. We will try to hand it down to our children with the same record which has been given to us.

At the conclusion of the singing "The Maple Leaf" by the Public School children, the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne said :

One hundred years has passed since England, who has been grandly called the mother of Parliaments, and who has nobly earned the name, conferred in a modified form the principle of self-government upon her colony in North America. In a modest, yet in a very true sense, this beginning of our freedom has since then been slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent. It is instructive to notice that of all the representative British assemblies that now, like her drum-beat, encircle the globe, the transcript of the constitution of the parent State which was then bestowed upon Upper Canada was declared by Governor Simcoe in his first speech to Parliament, a century ago this day, to be infinitely in degree beyond whatever, till that period, had been given to any other dependency of the Empire. So little was responsible government understood or appreciated in the earliest dawn of our constitutional history. What was then conceded to the two Canadas was undoubtedly a great boon, compared with the military rule which had existed from the time of the conquest ; but it is to be regretted that the wiser councils of Fox did not prevail, and that effect was not given to his demand that the Act of 1791 should be made a "Constitu-

tional Act" in fact as well as in name. Had this been done, years of agitation would have been prevented in both Provinces—agitation which in the case of each of the Provinces had its culmination in a rash and ill-advised resort to armed rebellion. And while we must give the gallant band who, through their loyalty to Britain forsook the homes they had established for themselves and their families across the border to seek shelter under the folds of the old flag in the then wilderness of Upper Canada, all credit for their devotion and patriotism, we cannot but wonder that they should have allowed their claim to be in any degree minimised by the action of another band, who, it is now frankly acknowledged, quite as truly earned the title of patriots, misguided though they were in their methods, through their struggles and sacrifices for those liberties which are everywhere the inalienable right of Englishmen. Representative government, in its fullest sense, should have been freely given at the outset of this colony of immeasurable possibilities, notwithstanding the sparseness of its settlement, numbering at that time a white population of only about 20,000 souls. The half measure was a serious mistake, as is the case with half measures generally. The division of Canada into two Provinces and the isolation of the races was another capital error in the statesmanship of Pitt, for experience has taught us that if we are successfully to work out the destiny which we believe to lie before us, it cannot be as a divided, but must assuredly be as a united, people. We must gather together the embers of nationality and patriotism, and fan them into a flame. Nearly fifty years after the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, by the re-union of the Provinces, in accordance with the recommendation of Lord Durham, the error of the great English Commoner was, in a manner, remedied; but it required the Confederation

Act of 1867 to crown the edifice, by binding the British North American Provinces into one great sisterhood worthy of being called a nation. This is the beneficent fruit which has sprung from the seed that was planted in the soil of Canada one hundred years ago; this is the development of the then feeble germ. The sturdy child in British America of the grand old Anglo-Saxon mother has herself in turn given birth to vigorous offspring, and has not only established a system of government for the parent State to copy from, but has sent home her most distinguished son to help in putting the machinery together and setting it in motion. The little representative body which, with limited powers, met in this city towards the close of the last century in a humble structure, in marvellous contrast with the present splendid legislative edifice, would have been astonished could they have foreseen this magnificent outcome of their infant efforts at nation building. In their modest way they set us the example which we have in part followed, but have in a greater degree, we think, improved upon. We are now, happily, at last, through struggle and sacrifice, in the enjoyment of the fullest measure of self-government. Let us see to it that we give account to the generations yet to come, and especially to those who will stand in our places as representatives of the Canadian people when another century shall have rolled by, of the faithful discharge of the important trusts, duties and responsibilities which are at this time of our manhood confided to our hands.

Hon. J. M. Gibson, Provincial Secretary, was next introduced. He said:

It is gratifying to observe the interest taken by so many in celebrating the centennial of an important event in the history of

our country. In these days of work and bustle, when men are all intent upon the duties of the present, it is well that once in a while we should pause and take a retrospect of the past. One hundred years ago the first Parliament of this Province was assembled for the first time, and Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe delivered his first opening speech. It was the occasion when this country was presented with a constitution. The Imperial Act of 1791 had provided for the provision of what was formerly Quebec into the two Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and it gave to the people of this country, as a part of the constitution, a popular Assembly. The form of Government, however, was scarcely a popular government. The principle of responsibility to the representatives of the people had not been conceded, and it was only after years of struggle that this principle prevailed—half a century later on. It was in 1841 that there was granted to the majority of the people of this Province that influence over the executive Government which constituted the essential element of responsible government in England. Nevertheless, the Act of 1791 did grant to the people a voice in the making of their laws and the right to be heard in connection with the Government and administration of their affairs. All of us are agreed that this Act, when compared with our present constitution, was a crude measure, but it provided for a great improvement on the previous condition of things. From the year 1760 to the year 1763 the people of this country had been ruled under a system of martial law. From 1763 to 1791 the people had been governed by a species of civil and military absolutism. When, therefore, in pursuance of the Constitutional Act of 1791, Governor Simcoe, on the 17th of September, 1792, opened the first Parliament of the Province of Upper Canada, he inaugurated a new era in the history of the

country. The event was the foundation of the constitutional liberty—the popular government—which we children of the men of those days are now enjoying. A hundred years ago to-day, out of the sixteen representatives who composed the popular Assembly, not all, but a sufficient number to form a quorum, found their way to Newark, some travelling probably days and weeks by small boats, others by other modes of locomotion. The contrasts between the modes of travelling in those days and to-day in our drawing-room cars, with their dining-room attachments, are strong and emphatic. Allusion has been made by his Honour to the rather small and primitive quarters where the Assembly of that day was compelled to meet together and legislate in the interests of this Province. Nevertheless, at that first session Acts of great importance were passed. One of them gave to the people the English law as to property and civil rights, and another the safeguard of trial by jury. The Lieutenant-Governor's residence was called "Navy Hall"—high sounding and pretentious in name, but in point of architecture a log house. We are told that the year after the opening he set out on a voyage with the intent of selecting a more suitable locality for the seat of Government, and history tells us that in a small boat he skirted around the lake, finding his way to Toronto. I do not believe that history is accurate. History never is entirely accurate. I do not believe that Governor Simcoe skirted the shores of the lake. I believe that when he came to the narrow part of it he cut across the lake, for he never would have passed Burlington Bay. Nor would he have passed the site of the Ambitious City, which I have the honour to represent. Undoubtedly, in my opinion, and in the opinion of 50,000 people who live in that city, Hamilton would have been the spot which he would have selected had he not cut across

the lake instead of skirting around the shore. His Honour has said that Governor Simcoe first lived here in his canvas house-tent, pitched somewhere at the intersection of Garrison Creek with what was formerly the Northern Railway, but a more pretentious building was afterwards erected—a log structure—in the north-eastern part of the city, at the head of Parliament Street and on the banks of the Don. I cannot ascertain that our first Governor took up his permanent residence in that then far-off log palace, because history informs us that occasionally he made excursions to his house, which was called "Castle Frank," sometimes in small boats up the River Don, and sometimes undertaking the difficult journey over the bridle road which had been cut through the woods. I shall not follow or trace the various improvements which have been made in the matter of Lieutenant-Governors' residences. The people and the Legislature and the Government of the present day cannot be accused of extravagance in these matters, but, at the same time, I am sure his Honour will admit that there have been vast improvements in the matter of gubernatorial residences. The same remark will apply to conveniences for Parliamentary deliberations. Without tracing to you the different improvements in the various buildings which have been from time to time occupied by the Parliament of Upper Canada and the Legislature of Ontario, I may say that in this city Parliament has always had vicissitudes in connection with its accommodation. The plain, brick structure which was built in 1820 was burned down in 1824. The buildings on Front Street which are now occupied—but, thank heaven, are soon to be unoccupied—were completed, or at least a portion of them, in 1832. In the meantime the Parliament of the Province was accommodated in an hospital building for a portion of the time, and in

a court house for another portion of the time. Now, when we look at the buildings which are in view before you, we certainly have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the vast improvement in the matter of legislative buildings. They are indications which mark the progress of the country, and probably as correctly and as strongly as any other indications which can be suggested. I think the country has made immense progress during the last one hundred years. What was a dense wilderness—a forest—throughout the length and breadth of the land is now a country of magnificent agricultural farms, thriving villages and towns and populous cities. We are a contented and a happy people. Our agricultural resources, modes and methods are equal to those of any other country to-day, and the best proof that could be given in substantiation of this you have had in your city for the last two weeks in the shape of the Industrial Exhibition. The educational system of the country has already been alluded to, and possibly may be further referred to by my friend and colleague, the acting Minister of Education. We have reason to be proud of our educational system—and I shall not be charged with boasting in asserting that our system of education, as a whole, will stand favourable comparison with that of any other country. The adminstration of justice happily gives rise, and has for a long time past given rise, to little or no complaint. The people are satisfied. The integrity of our judges is never impugned. We have a good system of jurisprudence and practice, and what was formerly known as a distinction between law and justice has, under the legislation of the last twenty years, entirely disappeared, and lawyers will soon fail to appreciate any difference between law and equity. Then, Sir, we have the best—I was going to say the best Government in the world—but I will not say that, because

some of my friends here think my testimony is not admissible on that point; but I believe you will all agree with me that we have the best Premier in the world, at all events. The fact that he has enjoyed for a longer unbroken period than any other man power as the head of a Government, with the full confidence of the people, is ample substantiation of the truth of my statement. By way of set-off, perhaps I may say also that we have a most efficient and the best equipped leader of an Opposition anywhere to be found. All, however, will cordially unite in the hope that both Sir Oliver and Mr. Meredith will long be spared to occupy positions of usefulness in this country. While great progress has been achieved in the past, the present seem to be days of accelerated progress. We appear to have accomplished as much in the past twenty-five years as was accomplished during the previous seventy-five years. What shall be the experience of the next century in our country's history? What shall our children's grandchildren have to say when celebrating another centennial anniversary on the 17th of September, 1993, as they look backward and take a view through the intervening years of us as we are and what we are doing? Let us hope, at least, that however mediæval and unenlightened our present modes and methods may appear to them, they may be justified in according to us, their ancestors, some measure of praise for the honesty and earnestness of purpose with which we are working out the problems of our day, and some tribute of praise and honour for the loyal and patriotic impulses in connection with our aspirations for the future of this country, which we all love so well.

The school children sang spiritedly the chorus by A. T. Cringan, entitled "Hail to the Land." Hon. Mr. Harcourt,

Provincial Treasurer, was well received as he stepped to the front of the platform to speak. He said:

We can all join enthusiastically in the celebration ceremonies of to-day. I say all of us, since, while those who are fortunate enough to be able to claim this Province as their birthplace may have a special reason to rejoice in our celebration, all others who have made this land their home by choice will none the less because of that fact rejoice in its prosperity, and welcome its every sign of progress. Some there are who think that our people are not as patriotic as they should be, and that we should therefore lose no opportunity to instil into the minds of our youth a spirit of earnest, broad and healthy patriotism. Those who thus complain point to our neighbours to the south of us as an illustration of a people who in season and out of season, in their schools and colleges, yes, from their pupils even, as well as in their press and in their literature generally, unceasingly strive to diffuse a love of and a loyalty and attachment to their form of government and all their institutions. In their school books this aim is never lost sight of, and in some degree the patriotism they evoke is both narrow and obtrusive. Only such historical facts are kept prominently in view as will kindle in their youth the fire of patriotism. The recorded speeches of their public men from the days of their first President, when they dreamed of a great republic yet to be, until now, while they show sharp differences and reveal the acrimony of warm debate touching the party questions of the hour, tend all one way in this matter of love of country and of home. The spirit of pessimism as to their country's high destiny has never had a lodgment even temporarily in the minds of our cousins across the line. So, too, with their pulpits and

their press. No opportunity is lost. The flame of patriotism never flickers. Statesmen, orators, ministers of the Gospel, teachers, editors make love of country their warmest theme. Although we occasionally notice, as partly the result of this fervid patriotism, a national blindness on their part as regards the rights of other peoples, or, at best, a tardy recognition of such rights, we all commend their loyalty to country. Some one has said that it is by a happy illusion that most men have a tendency to think their own country the best. May we not in this Province indulge in this thought without any illusion? With boldness we can invite comparison with other lands as regards all those elements which make up national prosperity and happiness. An invigorating climate, vast and fertile regions, capable of richly supporting a large population, a country extending from ocean to ocean, and stretching over seventy degrees of longitude, untold wealth of forest and of mine, magnificent lakes and mighty rivers—all these are ours, and as crowning blessings we enjoy in a singular degree an immunity from all pestilences, such as tornadoes, earthquakes and famines, which blight less favoured lands. Our humblest citizen has guaranteed to him fullest rights of person and of property. We have liberty without license, a benign religion, with great variety, it is true, as to forms, practice and profession—inculcating, however, in its every form, truth, honesty, sobriety and love of man—everywhere exerting a wide and elevating influence. A good education is easily within the reach of all, and the door to preferment opens on equal terms to the son of the poor and of the rich. Colleges and universities, of which other countries might well be proud, maintain high standards, and open their doors invitingly to all classes and to both sexes. Our great educational facilities, unsurpassed nowhere, must in

time contribute in an increasing degree to the material development of the country and the prosperity and happiness of our people. Our newspapers, city and provincial, reaching almost every home, well managed and ably edited, exert a powerful influence and contribute largely to the education of the masses. Our school system, recognizing the importance of mercantile and mechanical pursuits, makes special provision for the mental training of those intending to follow these occupations. We have a School of Agriculture, with a comprehensive and practical course of studies, which has already accomplished much in clearing the way for more profitable and scientific methods of tillage. In a somewhat slow and modest way as yet we have been developing both art and literature, and not a few Canadian artists and writers have won honour and distinction abroad. This centenary celebration invites us to recall the past, and reminds us that we have been making history, and that our country has grown steadily, safely and rapidly. In some channels and directions more rapid progress can be claimed for other lands, but we must not lose sight of the fact, as clear as any which the page of history teaches, that slow growth and gradual progress are ever the surest, and that northern nations, while slower than others in their historical development, have often in a marked degree assisted in swaying the destinies of the world. We have a history of which we need not be ashamed. One hundred years have come and gone since Governor Simcoe (whose features are preserved in stone, carved on the outer walls of these handsome buildings) founded Upper Canada as a distinct Province. During the winter of 1794-5 he took up his residence near where we now stand, and busied himself in planning for the future of this large and prosperous city, the history of which from that early day until now, with its safe,

marked and uninterrupted progress, fills so prominent a chapter in the history of the Province. Decade after decade witnesses advancement and progress in every part of the Province. We find, for example, dotting the wooded shores of some of our northern lakes, inviting, popular pleasure resorts, where in those early days the Huron and the Algonquin tribes fought as only Indians can fight for victory and supremacy. And, looking backwards from the vantage ground of this our centenary year, we can point to many other transformations equally complete and pleasing. If we cannot in our history point to a glitter of startling occurrences, we can do what is far better—we can show a gradual, steady progress in everything pertaining to the comfort, happiness and prosperity of our people. A Legislature, thoroughly representative of a vigorous, earnest people, has session after session passed laws timely and prudent, safeguarding our rights of life and property. What country can show legislation more advanced or leading up to better results than ours? In what land do we find a people enjoying more fully than we do the rights of self-government, or where is there a people more fitted to be entrusted with that precious right? Our laws have been well administered. Our courts of justice have won the unlimited confidence of the people. May we always have upright and learned judges, men of probity and culture who regard the unsullied ermine as dearly as they hold their lives. We can thus look backward with pride and satisfaction. What can we say as to our future? What of our destiny? Our destiny under a kind Providence will be just what we will make it. It rests in our own hands. We may, in the face of all our great advantages, mar it if we will. As it is with individual destiny, so it is with national destiny: we are largely the architects of our own fortunes. We have laid,

as I have shown, deep and safe and broad, the foundations for a bright future. Imbued with the healthy sentiment which has prevailed in the mother land for centuries, attached to the forms of government, cherishing her precedents and traditions, we have passed from childhood to youth. We are approaching manhood, and its strength and vigour must depend upon ourselves. What is needed, then? We must appease interprovincial jealousies; we must modify mere local patriotism; we must cultivate an increased national feeling, and show in every way we can that we have crossed the line of youth and pupilage. If our public men will be true to themselves, and govern us with wisdom and foresight and high statesmanship, and if our people will be intelligent, honest and vigilant, then we will enjoy a degree of success to which no limit can be fixed. Much depends on the acts and principles and policy of our present rulers, who, as a *sine qua non*, should have a firm and unfaltering belief in our future. We have met difficulties in the past only to overcome them. The alarming constitutional deadlock of a quarter of a century ago resulted in the confederation of the Provinces. Our course, for the most part, has been in smooth waters. We are now face to face with serious and general agricultural depression, and consequent loss of population. But this depression is not confined to any State or Province; it is world-wide, and, comparatively speaking, we have great cause to be thankful. Bright days will soon dawn in spite of manifestly disadvantageous economic conditions. We have had the seven lean years, and the fat years will follow. This seems to be a law of our planet. I must now give way to other speakers. May kind heaven long continue abundantly to prosper this fair land of ours!

Mr. G. F. Marter, M.P.P., Muskoka, on behalf of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, in the absence of Mr.

Meredith: One hundred years ago, when the first Parliament was opened in Newark, we are told that there were only fifteen members. They passed eight Acts in the first session of that Legislature. To-day we have ninety-two members, and I would like to know who could tell you the number of Acts passed at the last session of this House? Then they had a log building to meet in; now we have this beautiful structure. The Government of this country has spent more annually for education in conjunction with what is raised by the municipalities than any Government extending over a similar area and having an equal population. In 1791 Governor Simcoe travelled in birch-bark canoes from Montreal to Newark (now Niagara). Where we have our highways now, there were then but the indistinct pathways through the unknown forests. Look at the magnificence of this great city, with its commercial activities and splendid educational institutions. If we have made such gigantic strides during the last one hundred years, what may we not expect in the future? The historian says that the demon of Party had not entered into the politics of that day in the first Parliament of Upper Canada; so we can say at this day that the demon of party politics has not entered into the Government of Ontario, which is mainly attributable to the course adopted by our honoured leader, Mr. Meredith. I will say a little about the growth of the minerals of this country. They are now undeveloped to a great extent, but, so far as the investigations of the miners have gone, they have proven to be very rich; and we look forward in the near future to a state of affairs that would be envied by any country under the sun. Then we have the great wealth of the forests, from which, during the last twenty-five years, we have received about one million dollars a year, which is spent for the benefit of the

people instead of taxing them to meet the expenses of Government. In the matter of railways: in 1850, just forty-two years ago, Lord Elgin turned the first sod of the Northern Railway. To-day we have nearly every township in the Province supplied with railways. I am sure you will say that in this respect there has been great advancement. There is no part of the United States in which the mass of the people are healthier, wealthier or happier than in the Province of Ontario. Long may this state of affairs continue, let it be who may at the head of our Government!

Mr. William McCleary, M.P.P. for Welland: As a representative of the good old loyal Niagara district; coming as I do from that bountiful part of our fair Province of Ontario, I could not be anything less than a true Briton, for every acre of that land, were it animate and could speak, would give to us volumes of the instructive and inspiring record of the gallant and heroic past, of the deeds of our forefathers, the founders, legislatively and politically, of the Province. I know, Sir, that what the Hon. Mr. Harcourt said in reference to our friends on the other side of the line being ultra-loyal and teaching their children to be ultra-loyal, is not looked upon in some quarters, at least in our country, with favour. I am told, time and time again, that I am loyal simply because my father was loyal to England and England's Queen. There is something in that, but not all. The loyalty of the true subject springs from a far more genuine and deep-seated source. All true Canadians are loyal to England's Queen. If we love and admire her for her personal qualities, we respect and revere her because she is the representative of a great national life and the exponent of the best form of government that this world has ever seen. No

man can remember what England has done in promoting our interests—how she has poured out her millions in our defence and for the enforcement of our rights—without being loyal to the mother land. I had the pleasure of listening to Sir Oliver Mowat speaking in connection with another portion of this celebration at the old town of Niagara, and I was proud to know that we have a Premier who entertains such opinions regarding our country and our country's future. I am glad, as a young Canadian, that there are in places of power and influence, men who are trying to do something toward the building up of these opinions. It may be fairly said that our young Canada has started out on her career under the fairest auspices; and if the ship thus committed to the storms of time be manned by right good loyal men, enthusiastic men—men who will work in the interests of our common country—there is nothing to hinder us from making Canada one of the greatest nations that the world has ever seen.

The Lieutenant-Governor: I have great pleasure now in introducing to you the venerable Rev. Dr. Scadding, President of the Centenary Committee of the Historical and Pioneer Association.

The Rev. Dr. Scadding said: The Government is to be congratulated, the Parliament is to be congratulated, the whole Province of Ontario is to be congratulated on the completion, or all but completion, of the fine pile of buildings before which we are assembled. May that pile stand in safety here for many generations, symbolising and setting forth before the world the dignity of the Province, just as the Palace of Parliament at Westminster symbolises and sets forth the dignity of England,

and the noble Parliament Buildings at Ottawa do for the Dominion of Canada.

Handsome public buildings and handsome public grounds do much to foster patriotism and love of country and self-respect in a community. From the very first this seems to have been felt amongst us here. In 1793 when the town-plot of York was first laid out by the pioneer land surveyor Augustus Jones, under the immediate eye of the first Governor of the Province, care was taken by that Governor to have reserved as a site for the Parliament Buildings of the new Province of Upper Canada a spacious piece of ground immediately to the east of this town-plot—immediately east of what is now known as Berkeley Street, and bounded on the south by the waters of the Bay. I have in my own possession early plans which show the original Parliament Buildings in this position, and at this moment the name Parliament Street, leading from Bloor Street southward to the water's edge, is a reminder of the same fact. In this locality the provident Governor caused buildings for the accommodation of Parliament to be forthwith commenced, and here, doubtless, he would himself have met the assembled Legislature in 1796, had his term of office been prolonged. As it was, the discharge of that duty devolved on the then Administrator of the Government, the Hon. Peter Russell, who, in 1796 transferred the Government and all its appliances, Parliament included, from Niagara to York, when the new buildings were at once put to their proper use.

Niagara had never been intended to be the permanent capital of the Province. All the arrangements for the residence of the Governor there, and for the carrying on of his Government there had been simply provisional and temporary. The buildings here erected were those destroyed by the Americans

in 1813 when York was taken possession of by them. As soon as possible after the war, the Parliament Buildings were restored on the same spot, but of larger dimensions than before and built substantially of brick. These buildings I myself remember, having more than once witnessed the opening of the House there by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a holiday being allowed at the old district grammar school for the purpose of enabling us boys to be present at the pageant, a spectacle which of course made a great impression.

I remember very well the sensation created by the accidental destruction of these buildings by fire at the close of the year 1824. After this Parliament shifted its quarters westward, taking refuge for a while in the hospital buildings just west of John Street, and then subsequently in the Court House near Church Street, finding a permanent shelter at length in the buildings which are now on the point of being vacated. These buildings were erected during the administration of Sir John Colborne, and covered a large portion of a public square which had previously been known as Simcoe Place, and had been intended in 1797 as a recreation ground for future citizens. In that building the Parliament of the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was for a time accommodated, and therein I have heard Poulett Thomson deliver an official speech from the Throne in the chamber appointed for the use of the Upper House, but now utilized as the library. Mr. Poulett Thomson was afterwards, it will be remembered, raised to the peerage, and took his title from Sydenham in Kent, and Toronto in Canada.

The Government and Parliament of Ontario have been very generous in their grants for the celebration of the opening of the first Parliament of Upper Canada at Niagara, September 17th, 1792.

As chairman of the centennial committee, I have done my best in regulating the expenditure incurred at Niagara, in order to save what I could for the purpose of securing something permanent as a result, and we have managed in this way to pay for the bronze centennial medal, which I doubt not generations hereafter will examine with interest, as also for the laying down of a number of memorial boulder blocks marking historical sites in Niagara and its vicinity, as also, for a monumental drinking fountain in front of the Niagara Court House.

In regard to the expenditure here in Toronto I have been equally desirous of saving something for the purpose of securing at all events one visible enduring relic of our centennial commemoration. I desire to say something to form the nucleus of a fund for the erection of a statue in honour of the wise and far-seeing first Governor of our Province, this statue to be placed most appropriately (as I suppose all will agree) in front of this noble pile, the successor and representative of the modest edifice erected in 1793, eastward of Berkeley Street. I had hoped that the formal marking out of a distinct site for this monument at a certain distance immediately south of the main entrance might have formed a part of the ceremonies of this day, and I have reason to believe that this would have been the case had it been decided how the grounds around the Parliament Buildings were to be definitely laid out. In the meantime, I am anxious that a fund for the monument should be created, and carefully husbanded until some noble result shall be secured.

I look with envy, I must confess, on the good fortune of the city of Brantford in its possession of that magnificent monumental group, which has been erected there in honour of the Mohawk chieftain, Brant. I say that our first Governor, to whom posterity and Canada at large owes so much, deserves to

be similarly honoured. Let a fund, however moderate, be established for the accomplishment of this purpose and a fitting site set apart in these grounds. Future Parliaments will, I am sure, be found liberally disposed towards the project until it can be carried into effect on a becoming scale; and the city of Toronto itself, if properly approached both in respect to individual citizens and the corporation, may be confidently expected to be generously disposed towards some worthy monument in honour of its first founder—emulating in this regard the citizens of Montreal, who are at this moment so worthily engaged in erecting a fitting monument to Maisonneuve, the originator of that great commercial community. Of all monuments that may be in contemplation for the adornment of our new and noble Parliament Buildings here in Toronto, this to Simcoe should certainly have the precedence.

The Lieutenant-Governor said: I am sure that I am only voicing the opinion of every one in this vast assembly when I tender to the Rev. Dr. Scadding and the Committee which had charge of these proceedings, hearty congratulations upon the success which has attended their efforts. The addresses we have heard from these gentlemen to-day have been eloquent, instructive and interesting, and I am sure that every one of us will go home and remember the lessons they teach—to revere the past and to look to the future with hope and confidence.

The National Anthem closed the proceedings.

ACCOUNTS.

STATEMENT

TORONTO AND NIAGARA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

RECEIPTS.

1892. June 4.—Cheque Ontario Government		$1,000 00	
July 11. " Lincoln County		200 00	
" 19. " Welland County		100 00	
Aug. 27. Cash, Medals sold		36 00	
Oct. 14. Cheque Ontario Government		1,000 00	
			$2,336 00

DISBURSEMENTS.

Niagara Centennial Celebration.

1892. July 16.—Advertising	$133 85	
Lunching — Committee, Bands and Guests	182 80	
Memorial Fountain and Monuments	148 50	
Bands	172 50	
Decorations	213 31	
Firing Salute and Horse Feed	88 00	
Lacrosse Match	41 00	
Cab Hire	60 00	
Centennial Medals	179 75	
Reporting and other expenses	103 18	
		$1,322 89

Toronto Centennial Celebration.

1892. Sept. 17.—Platform and Seating	$83 88	
Bands	110 00	
Cab Hire	175 00	
Lithographing and Printing	83 25	
Reporting and other expenses	65 33	
Memorial Volume	107 00	
	624 46	
		1,947 35
Balance on hand		$388 65

WM. RENNIE,
Treasurer C. C. C.

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